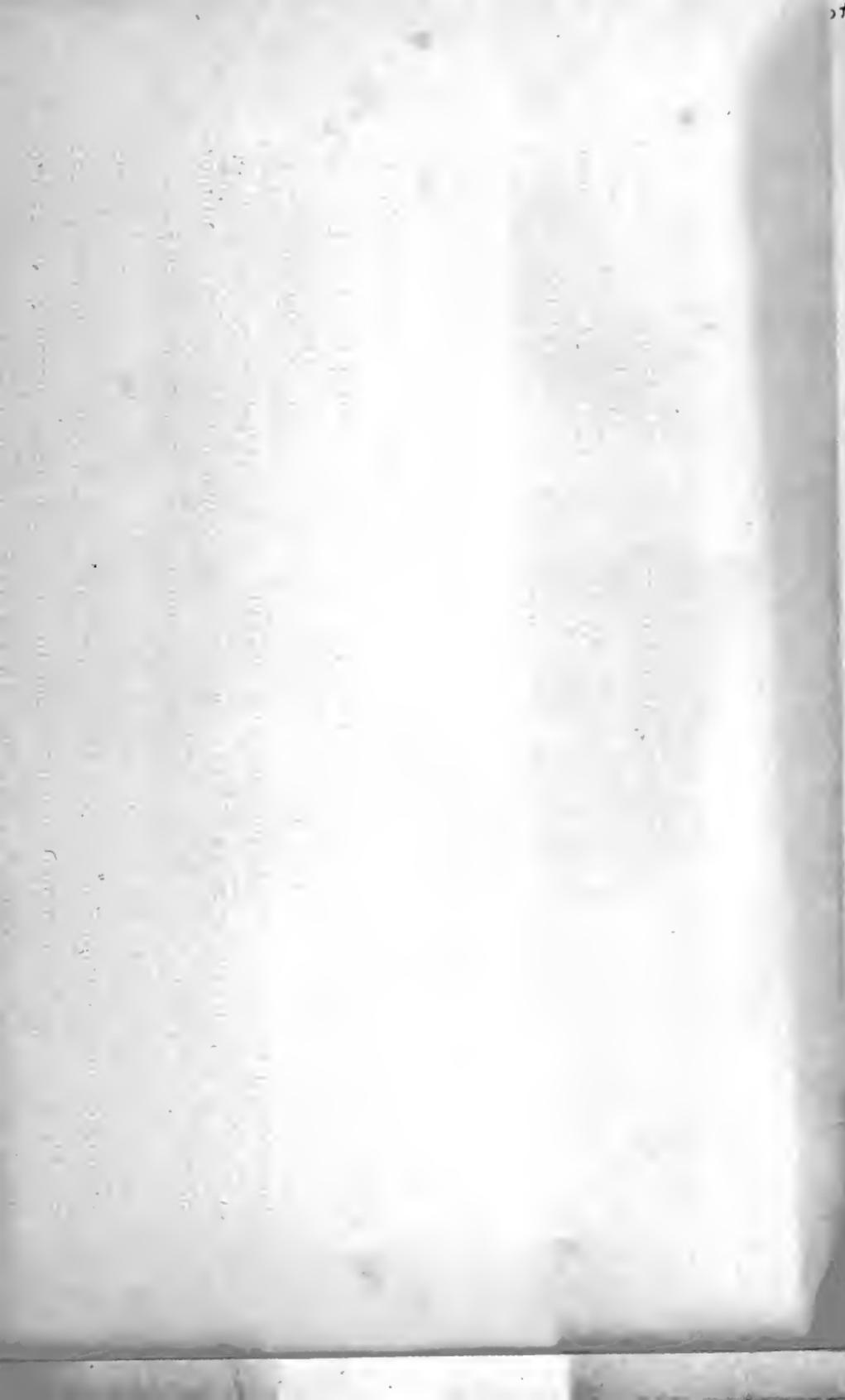


COMPLETE  
WORKS  
OF  
ABRAHAM  
LINCOLN  
EDITION  
BY  
NICHOLAS & HAY  
VOL. I

PHILADELPHIA  
OUT-OF-BURG EDITION



COMPLETE  
WORKS  
OF  
ABRAHAM  
LINCOLN  
ED. BY  
WOLLEY & HAY

VOL. I

REFUGEE FOR 1861

*Date*

*THE TANDY-THOMAS COMPANY,*  
*38 East 21st Street, New York.*

*Gentlemen:—Please deliver to me one complete set of*

*THE MEMORIAL EDITION OF*

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edited by John G. Nicolay and John Hay and containing Introductions, Poems on Lincoln, an Anthology of Lincoln's sayings, Indexes, etc.

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The set is to consist of twelve octavo volumes.

It is to be printed from pica Caslon type, upon antique wove paper especially made for this edition and water-marked with a fac-simile of Abraham Lincoln's signature.

It is to contain 56 Illustrations, consisting of portraits of Lincoln, his cabinet officers, his generals, facsimiles of his famous documents and other similar illustrations, reproduced in steel engraving, photogravure, wood engraving, photographic processes, etc.

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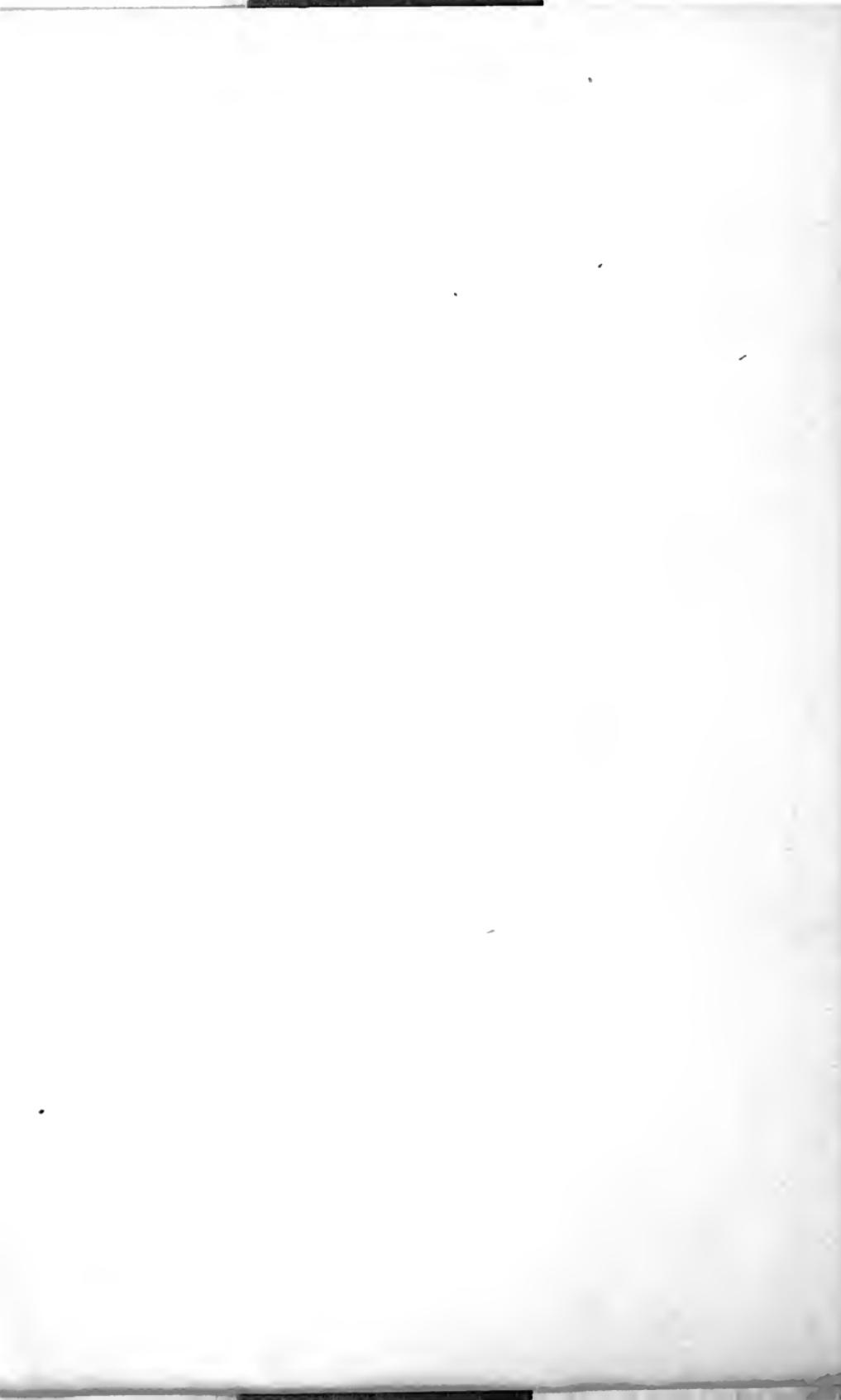
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note





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DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

WASHINGTON

February 12, 1904.

Dear sir:-

I have received your letter of the  
11th of February.

The portrait of the younger man of  
the group is of myself. The other, with a beard  
is Mr. Nicolay. The photograph was made, I think,  
in the year 1863.

Yours very truly



Judd Stewart, Esquire,

71 Broadway, New York.



# Complete Works *of* Abraham Lincoln

*Edited by*

JOHN G. NICOLAY *and* JOHN HAY

With a General Introduction *by*

RICHARD WATSON GILDER, and Special Articles  
*by* OTHER EMINENT PERSONS

*New and Enlarged Edition*

VOLUME I

*New York*

FRANCIS D. TANDY COMPANY

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GETTYSBURG EDITION

*This Edition de Grand Luxe is limited to  
three hundred numbered and registered sets.*

Number \_\_\_\_\_

*Francis D. Sandy Co.*



# O Captain! My Captain

BY WALT WHITMAN

O Captain! my Captain! our fearful trip is done,  
The ship has weather'd every rack, the prize we sought  
is won,  
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,  
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and  
daring;

But O heart! heart! heart!

O the bleeding drops of red,  
Where on the deck my Captain lies,  
Fallen cold and dead.

O Captain! my Captain! rise up and hear the bells;  
Rise up—for you the flag is flung—for you the bugle  
trills,  
For you bouquets and ribbon'd wreaths—for you the  
shores a-crowding,  
For you they call, the swaying mass, their eager faces  
turning;

Here Captain! dear father!

This arm beneath your head!

It is some dream that on the deck,  
You've fallen cold and dead.

## O Captain! My Captain

My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still,  
My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse nor  
will,

The ship is anchor'd safe and sound, its voyage closed  
and done,

From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with object  
won ;

Exult O shores, and ring O bells !

But I with mournful tread,

Walk the deck my Captain lies,

Fallen, cold and dead.

Published by special permission  
of Horace Traubel, literary  
executor of Walt Whitman

## Lincoln as a Writer \*

OF style, in the ordinary use of the word, Lincoln may be said to have had little.

He certainly did not strive for an artistic method of expression through such imitation of the masters, for instance, as Robert Louis Stevenson's. There was nothing ambitiously elaborate or self-consciously simple in Lincoln's way of writing. He had not the scholar's range of words. He was not always grammatically accurate. He would doubtless have been very much surprised if any one had told him that he had a "style" at all. And yet, because he was determined to be understood, because he was honest, because he had a warm heart and a true, because he had read good books eagerly and not coldly, and because there was in him a native good taste, as well as a strain of imagination, he achieved a singularly clear and forcible style, which took color from his own noble character, and became a thing individual and distinguished.

He was, indeed, extremely modest about his accomplishments. His great desire was to convince those whom he addressed, and if he could do this

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## Lincoln as a Writer

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, November 21, 1864.

MRS. BIXBY, Boston, Massachusetts.

DEAR MADAM: I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

This letter of consolation in its simplicity and fitness again recalls the Greek spirit. It is like one of those calm monuments of grief which the traveler may still behold in that small cemetery under the deep Athenian sky, where those who have been dead so many centuries are kept alive in the memories of men by an art which is immortal.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Richard Watson Gilder". The signature is fluid and expressive, with varying line thicknesses and ink saturation.

# Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln

---

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF SANGAMON COUNTY,<sup>1</sup>  
March 9, 1832.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: Having become a candidate for the honorable office of one of your Representatives in the next General Assembly of this State, in accordance with an established custom and the principles of true Republicanism, it becomes my duty to make known to you, the people whom I propose to represent, my sentiments with regard to local affairs.

Time and experience have verified to a demonstration the public utility of internal im-

<sup>1</sup> Lincoln was just past his twenty-second year when he indited this address to the people of Sangamon County. Though defeated in the effort to become a member of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, his address, distributed in the form of a handbill, aroused great interest and enthusiasm among his fellow-citizens. It became one of the prime factors in promoting navigation of the Sangamon River. It is worth passing mention to note that this defeat as a candidate for the Illinois legislature was the only one Lincoln ever suffered by direct vote of the people.

provements. That the poorest and most thinly populated countries would be greatly benefited by the opening of good roads, and in the clearing of navigable streams within their limits, is what no person will deny. Yet it is folly to undertake works of this or any other kind without first knowing that we are able to finish them —as half-finished work generally proves to be labor lost. There cannot justly be any objection to having railroads and canals, any more than to other good things, provided they cost nothing. The only objection is to paying for them; and the objection arises from the want of ability to pay.

With respect to the County of Sangamon, some more easy means of communication than it now possesses, for the purpose of facilitating the task of exporting the surplus products of its fertile soil, and importing necessary articles from abroad, are indispensably necessary. A meeting has been held of the citizens of Jacksonville and the adjacent country, for the purpose of deliberating and inquiring into the expediency of constructing a railroad from some eligible point on the Illinois River, through the town of Jacksonville, in Morgan County, to the town of Springfield, in Sangamon County. This is, indeed, a very desirable object. No other improvement that reason will justify us

in hoping for can equal in utility the railroad. It is a never-failing source of communication between places of business remotely situated from each other. Upon the railroad the regular progress of commercial intercourse is not interrupted by either high or low water, or freezing weather, which are the principal difficulties that render our future hopes of water communication precarious and uncertain.

Yet, however desirable an object the construction of a railroad through our country may be; however high our imaginations may be heated at thoughts of it—there is always a heart-appalling shock accompanying the amount of its cost, which forces us to shrink from our pleasing anticipations. The probable cost of this contemplated railroad is estimated at \$290,000; the bare statement of which, in my opinion, is sufficient to justify the belief that the improvement of the Sangamon River is an object much better suited to our infant resources.

Respecting this view, I think I may say, without fear of being contradicted, that its navigation may be rendered completely practicable as high as the mouth of the South Fork, or probably higher, to vessels of from twenty-five to thirty tons burden, for at least one-half of all common years, and to vessels of much greater burden a part of the time. From my peculiar

circumstances, it is probable that for the last twelve months I have given as particular attention to the stage of the water in this river as any other person in the country. In the month of March, 1831, in company with others, I commenced the building of a flatboat on the Sangamon, and finished and took her out in the course of the spring. Since that time I have been concerned in the mill at New Salem. These circumstances are sufficient evidence that I have not been very inattentive to the stages of the water. The time at which we crossed the mill-dam being in the last days of April, the water was lower than it had been since the breaking of winter in February, or than it was for several weeks after. The principal difficulties we encountered in descending the river were from the drifted timber, which obstructions all know are not difficult to be removed. Knowing almost precisely the height of water at that time, I believe I am safe in saying that it has as often been higher as lower since.

From this view of the subject it appears that my calculations with regard to the navigation of the Sangamon cannot but be founded in reason; but, whatever may be its natural advantages, certain it is that it never can be practically useful to any great extent without being greatly improved by art. The drifted timber,

as I have before mentioned, is the most formidable barrier to this object. Of all parts of this river, none will require so much labor in proportion to make it navigable as the last thirty or thirty-five miles; and going with the meanderings of the channel, when we are this distance above its mouth we are only between twelve and eighteen miles above Beardstown in something near a straight direction; and this route is upon such low ground as to retain water in many places during the season, and in all parts such as to draw two-thirds or three-fourths of the river water at all high stages.

This route is on prairie-land the whole distance, so that it appears to me, by removing the turf a sufficient width, and damming up the old channel, the whole river in a short time would wash its way through, thereby curtailing the distance and increasing the velocity of the current very considerably, while there would be no timber on the banks to obstruct its navigation in future; and being nearly straight, the timber which might float in at the head would be apt to go clear through. There are also many places above this where the river, in its zigzag course, forms such complete peninsulas as to be easier to cut at the necks than to remove the obstructions from the bends, which, if done, would also lessen the distance.

What the cost of this work would be, I am unable to say. It is probable, however, that it would not be greater than is common to streams of the same length. Finally, I believe the improvement of the Sangamon River to be vastly important and highly desirable to the people of the county; and, if elected, any measure in the legislature having this for its object, which may appear judicious, will meet my approbation and receive my support.

It appears that the practice of loaning money at exorbitant rates of interest has already been opened as a field for discussion; so I suppose I may enter upon it without claiming the honor, or risking the danger which may await its first explorer. It seems as though we are never to have an end to this baneful and corroding system, acting almost as prejudicially to the general interests of the community as a direct tax of several thousand dollars annually laid on each county for the benefit of a few individuals only, unless there be a law made fixing the limits of usury. A law for this purpose, I am of opinion, may be made without materially injuring any class of people. In cases of extreme necessity, there could always be means found to cheat the law; while in all other cases it would have its intended effect. I would favor the passage of a law on this subject which might

not be very easily evaded. Let it be such that the labor and difficulty of evading it could only be justified in cases of greatest necessity.

Upon the subject of education, not presuming to dictate any plan or system respecting it, I can only say that I view it as the most important subject which we can as a people be engaged in. That every man may receive at least a moderate education, and thereby be enabled to read the histories of his own and other countries, by which he may duly appreciate the value of our free institutions, appears to be an object of vital importance, even on this account alone, to say nothing of the advantages and satisfaction to be derived from all being able to read the Scriptures, and other works both of a religious and moral nature, for themselves.

For my part, I desire to see the time when education—and by its means, morality, sobriety, enterprise, and industry—shall become much more general than at present, and should be gratified to have it in my power to contribute something to the advancement of any measure which might have a tendency to accelerate that happy period.

With regard to existing laws, some alterations are thought to be necessary. Many respectable men have suggested that our estray laws, the law respecting the issuing of execu-

tions, the road law, and some others, are deficient in their present form, and require alterations. But, considering the great probability that the framers of those laws were wiser than myself, I should prefer not meddling with them, unless they were first attacked by others; in which case I should feel it both a privilege and a duty to take that stand which, in my view, might tend most to the advancement of justice.

But, fellow-citizens, I shall conclude. Considering the great degree of modesty which should always attend youth, it is probable I have already been more presuming than becomes me. However, upon the subjects of which I have treated, I have spoken as I have thought. I may be wrong in regard to any or all of them; but, holding it a sound maxim that it is better only sometimes to be right than at all times to be wrong, so soon as I discover my opinions to be erroneous, I shall be ready to renounce them.

Every man is said to have his peculiar ambition. Whether it be true or not, I can say, for one, that I have no other so great as that of being truly esteemed of my fellow-men, by rendering myself worthy of their esteem. How far I shall succeed in gratifying this ambition is yet to be developed. I am young, and unknown to many of you. I was born, and have

Απόπειρα Επικούρεια

τελεσθείσα η οποία ορθώς θεωρείται η παλαιότερη η οποία  
την Μάχη της Αρετούσας έχει στην ιστορία  
την αρχαιότερη η οποία έχει στην ιστορία

Abraham Lincoln

*Steel Engraving from the Original Photograph by  
Brady in 1864, and now in the War  
Department Collection.*



Abraham

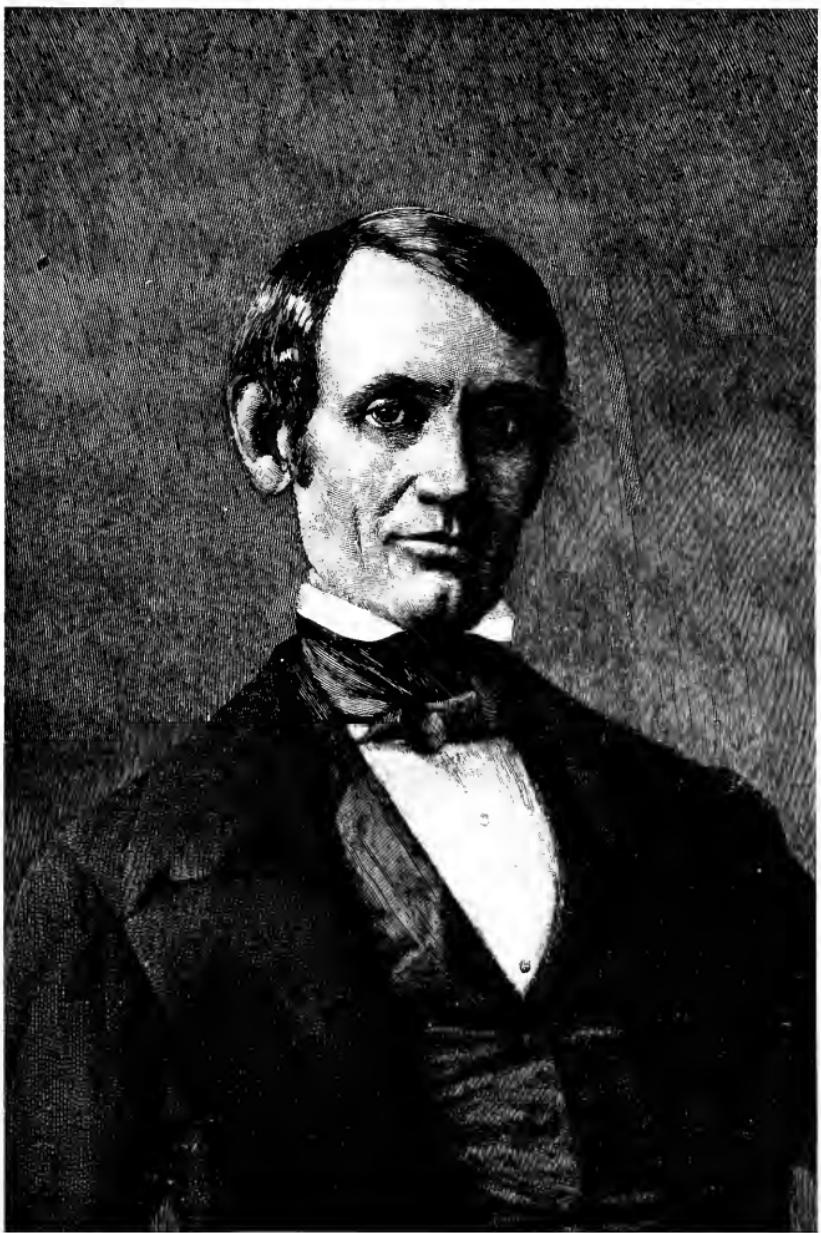


First Photograph of Apparatus  
from the Original Description made about 1818  
Japan Legion from Tsuru-mine Iwa of age  
H in Osaka by the Hon. Report T  
Invention, Invention, Invention  
in the first Application

First Photograph of Abraham Lincoln

*From the Original Daguerreotype made about 1848  
when Lincoln was Thirty-nine Years of Age.*

*It is Owned by the Hon. Robert T.  
Lincoln, through whose Courtesy  
it has been Published.*

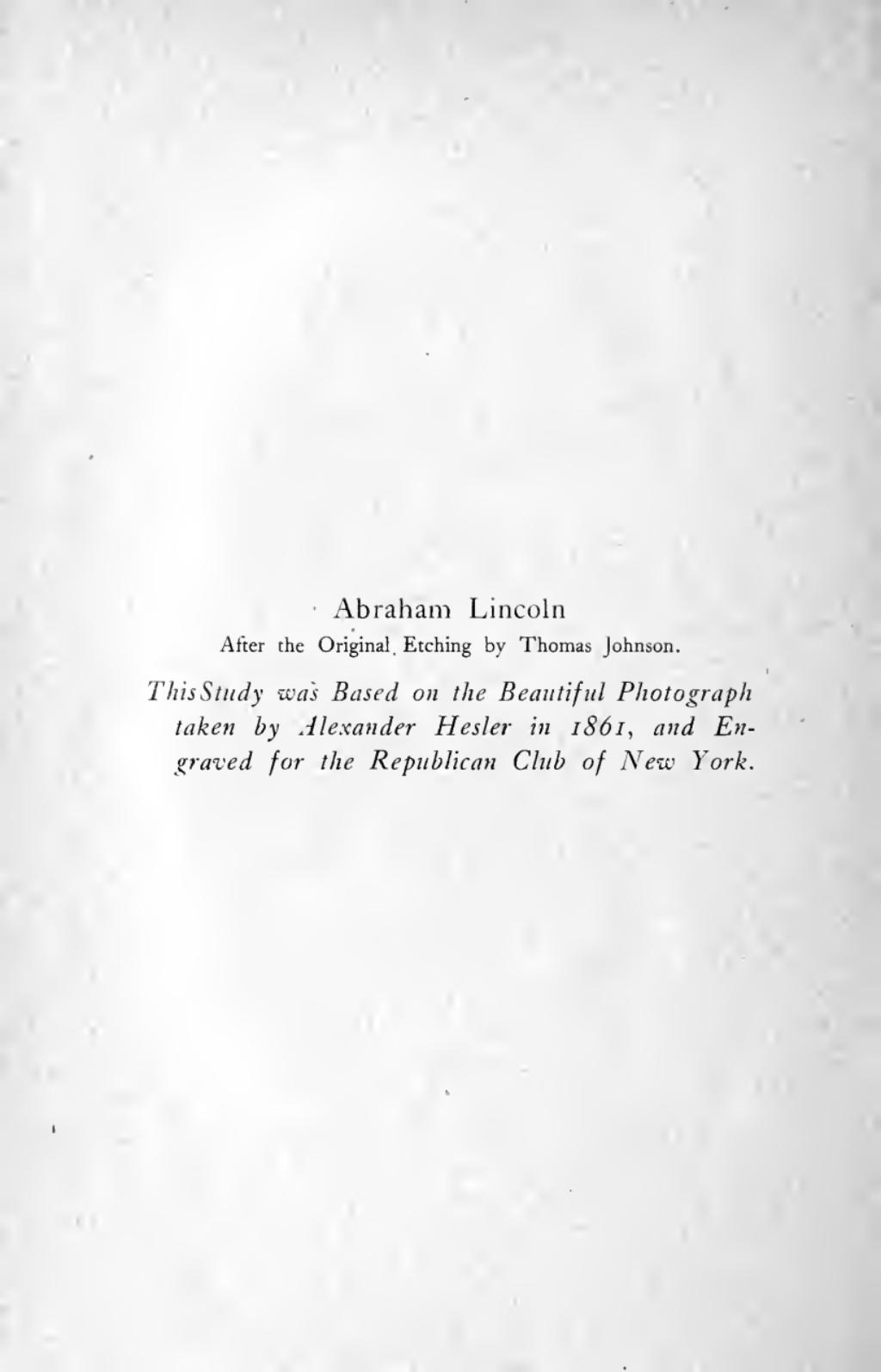




Apparatus Pictures

After the Original Picture by Thomas Johnson

This was the first of the Building Pictures  
taken by Mr. Johnson, in 1861, and  
is now in the Building Club of New York.



## Abraham Lincoln

After the Original Etching by Thomas Johnson.

*This Study was Based on the Beautiful Photograph  
taken by Alexander Hesler in 1861, and En-  
graved for the Republican Club of New York.*





High Home of Aspiration, India  
Kingship goes to the highest

Early Home of Abraham Lincoln  
Reproduced from a Rare Engraving.

*Thomas Lincoln Built this Cabin in Elizabethtown,  
Hardin County, Ky., and Moved into it when his  
Son, Abraham, was still an Infant. The Lincolns  
lived there till Abraham was seven years old,  
when they took up Residence in Indiana.*

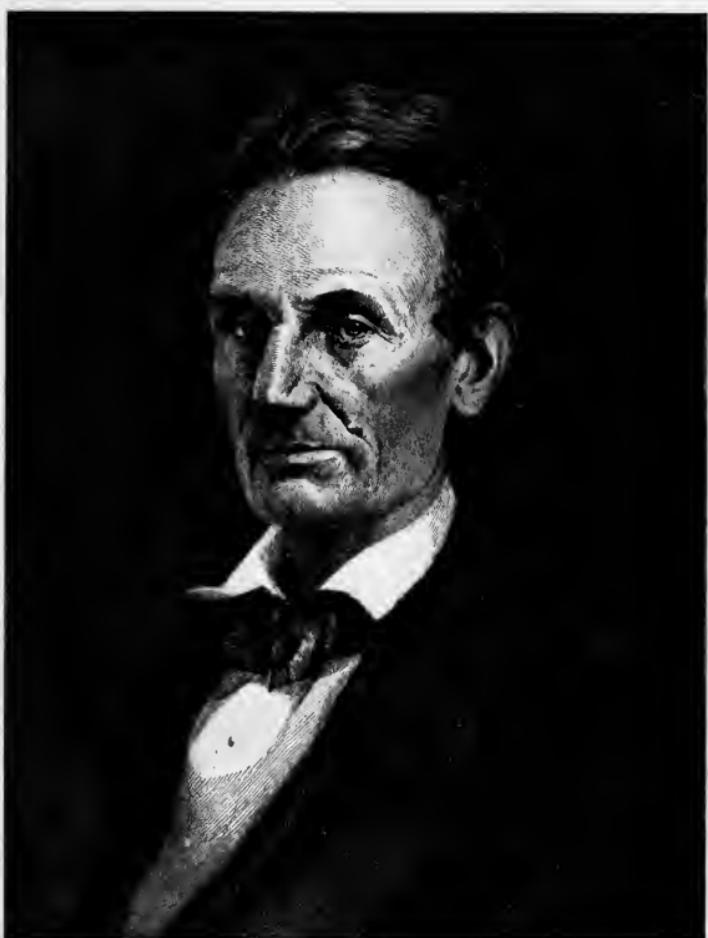




після цього  
відбулося відхилення від підходів  
до 21-ї лінії від

Abraham Lincoln

*After an Unknown Engraving from a Photograph  
taken about 1859.*





Yaphetus Pincoffs  
Photographs from the Original Paintings from Life  
by Henry B. Gurnett in 1884

Abraham Lincoln

*Photogravure from the Original Painting from Life  
by Frank B. Carpenter in 1864.*





Apparatus Tricomin

Wood Penetrating by Jimothy Cole from an old  
provable paper for Martin T. Webb in 1898.

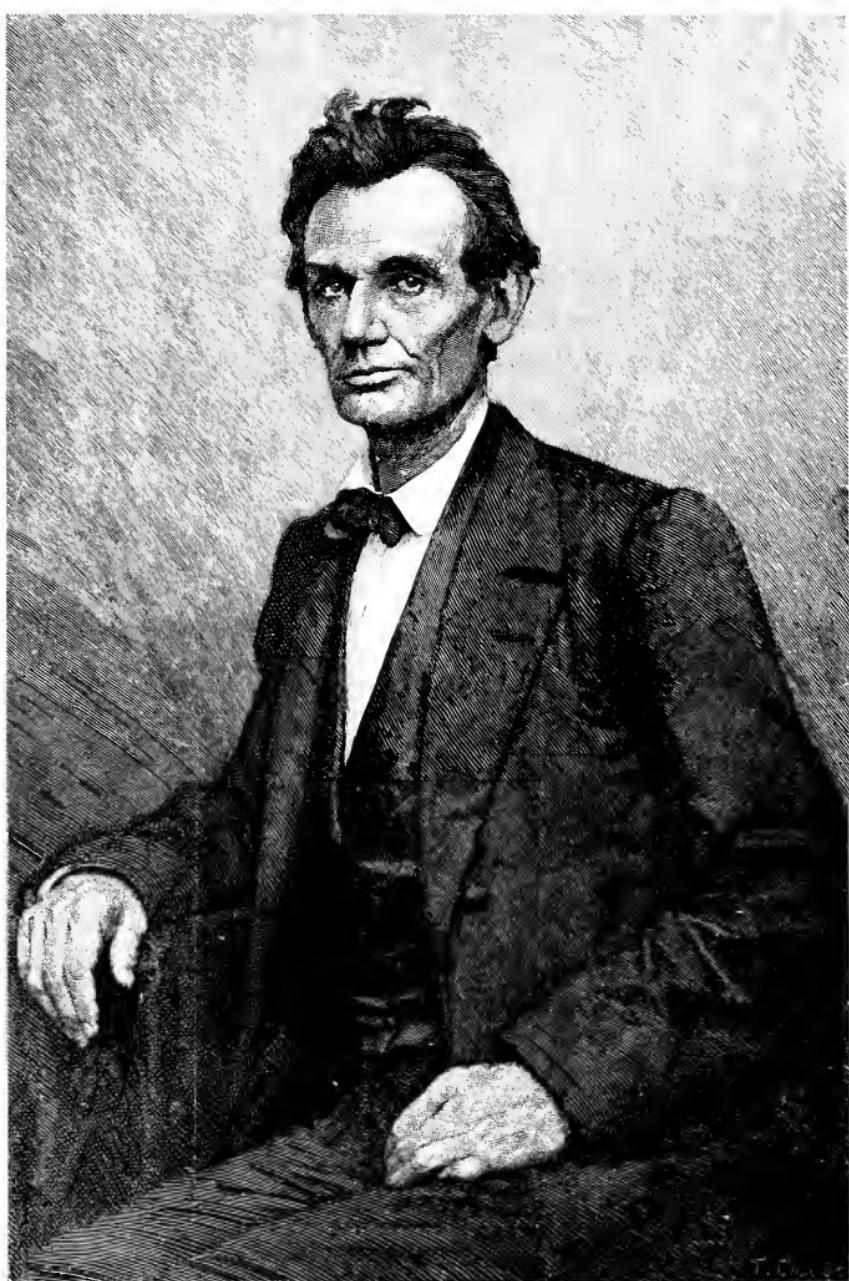
Leaf, III, May 30, 1898, Two Days

After Tricomin's Varnification for

Penetrating

Abraham Lincoln

*Wood Engraving by Timothy Cole from an Am-  
botype taken for Marcus L. Ward in Spring-  
field, Ill., May 20, 1860, Two Days  
after Lincoln's Nomination for  
President.*





Apparatus for  
the Optical  
Examination of  
Minerals  
and  
Metals  
by  
J. N. D. B. and  
J. C. B.  
1881

Abraham Lincoln

*After the Original Etching by Thomas Johnson  
and Based on an Unknown Photograph.  
Probably taken Sometime in 1861.*

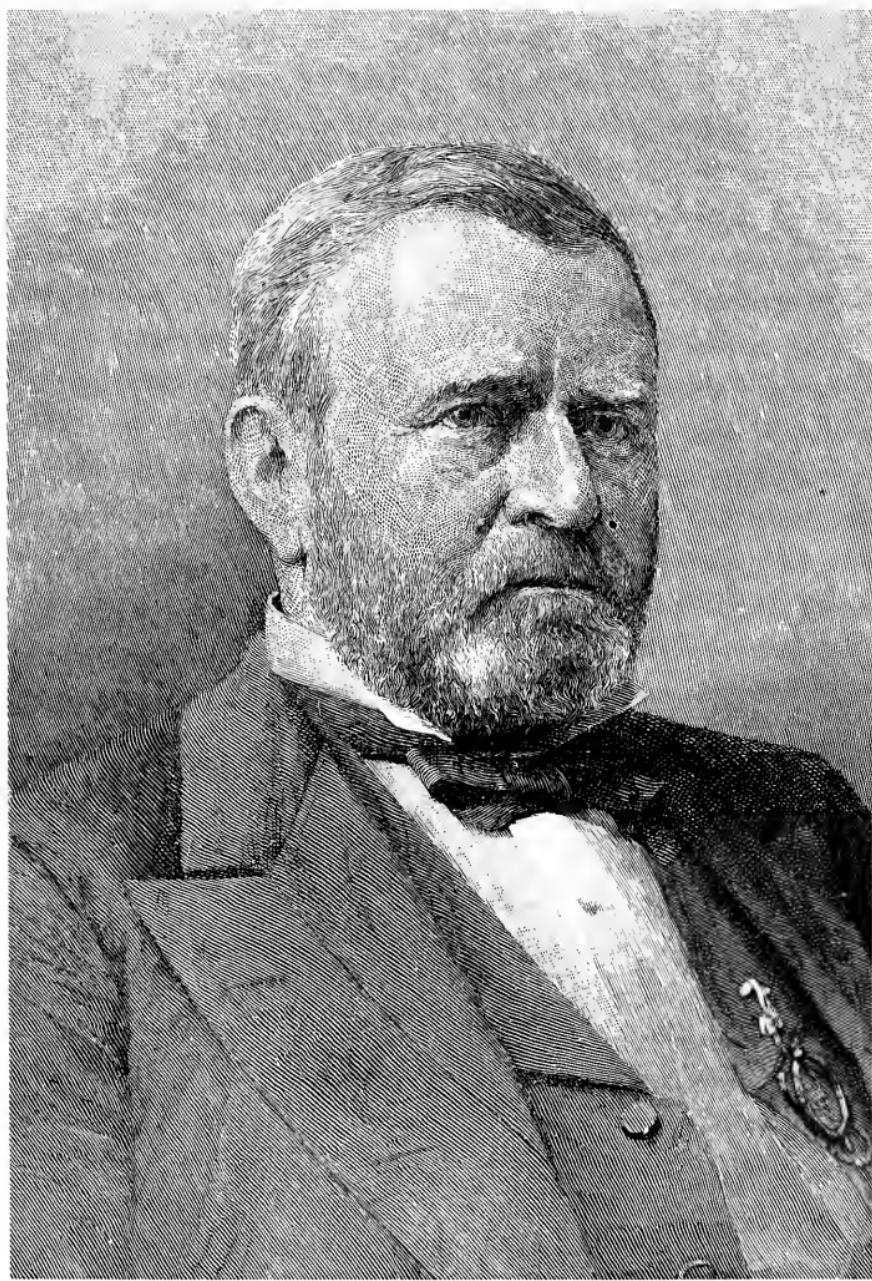




McGeary Ulisses S. Grant  
Woods Publishing from the Original Photograph  
by Brady

General Ulysses S. Grant

*Wood Engraving from the Original Photograph  
by Brady.*





Apparatus Liturgicus

Edited in the Original Penmanship by J. Morris Johnson  
Based on an Anglo-Saxon Psalter

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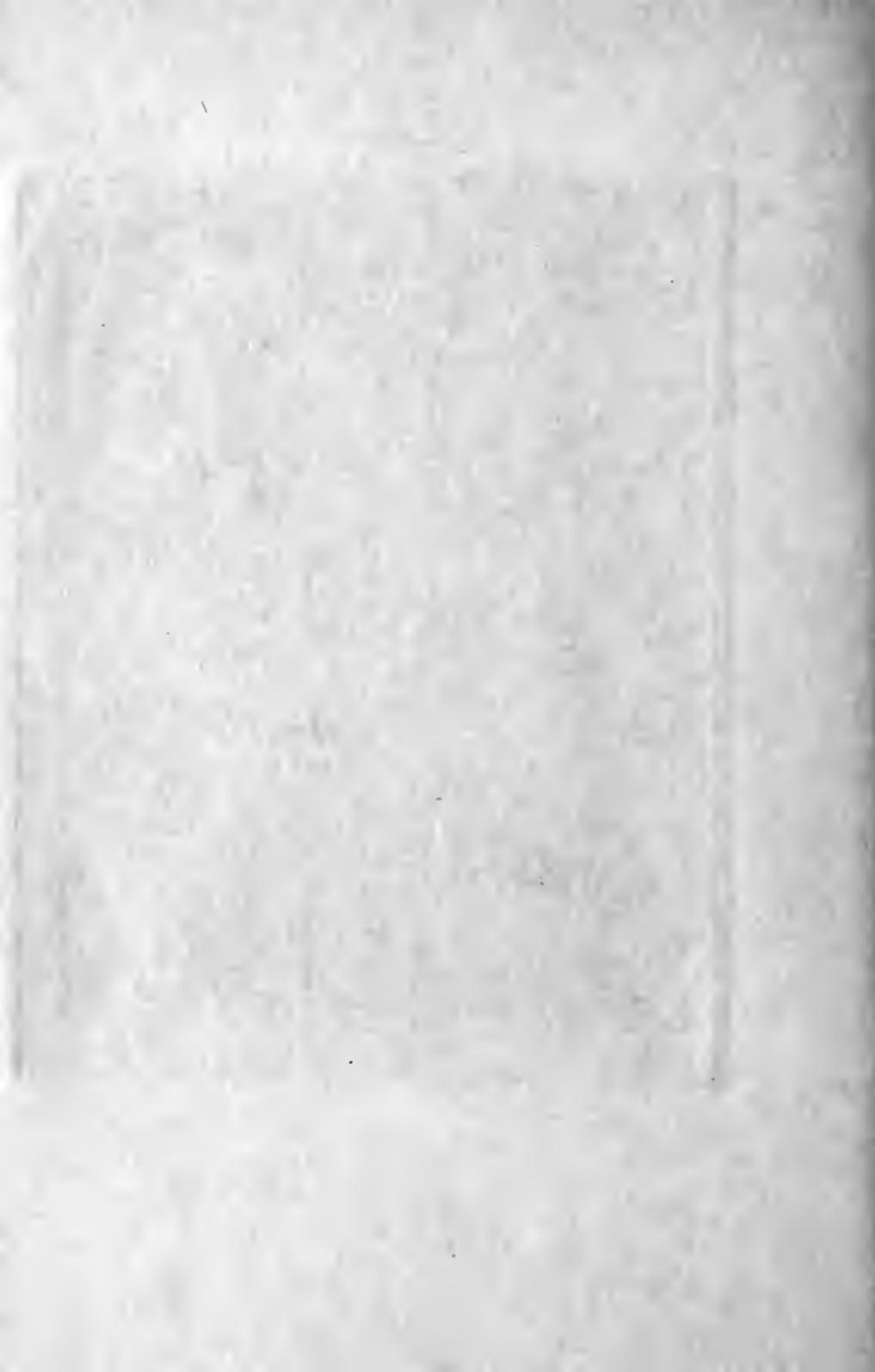
Abraham Lincoln

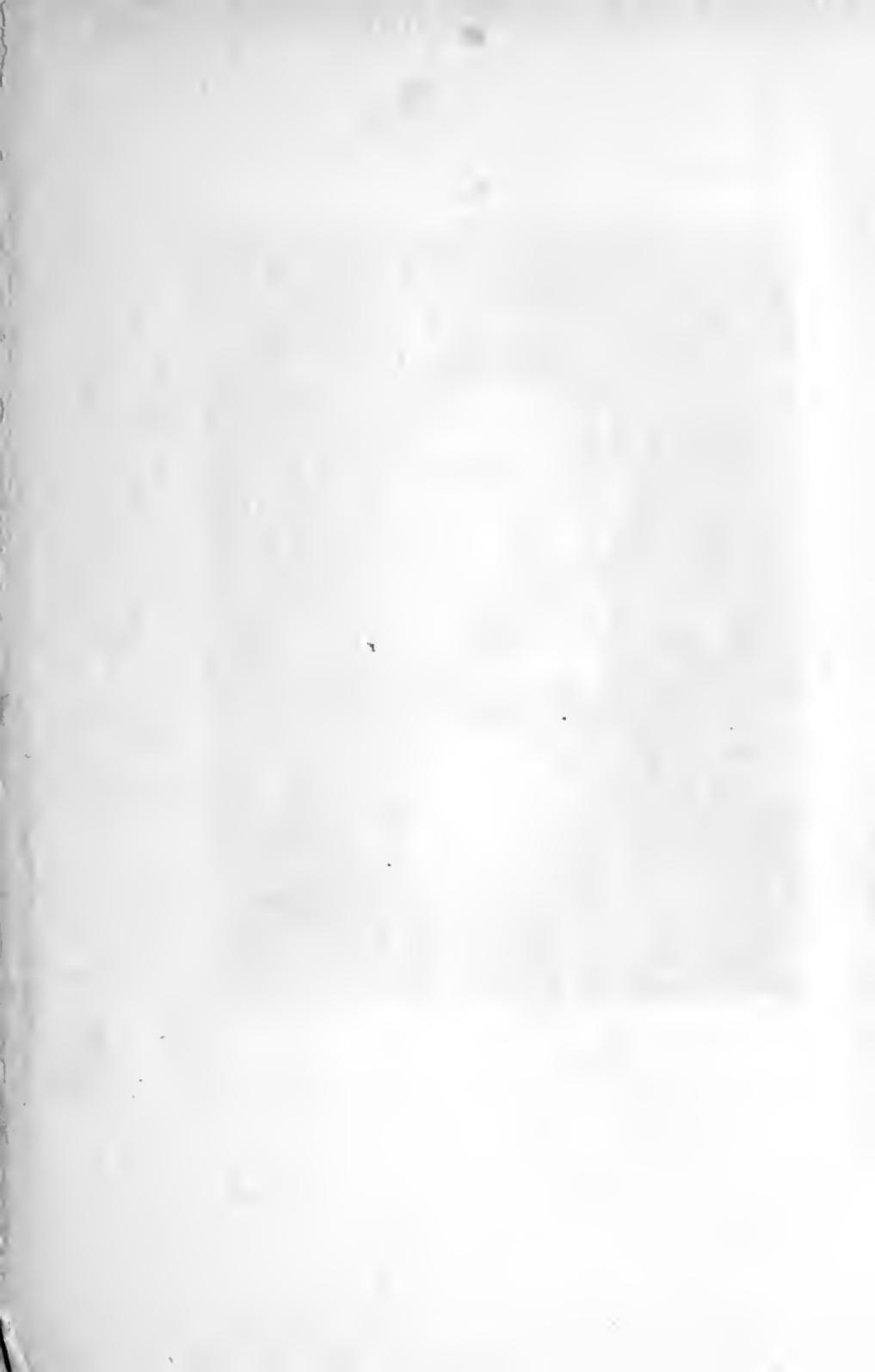
*After the Original Engraving by Thomas Johnson  
Based on an Unknown Photograph.*

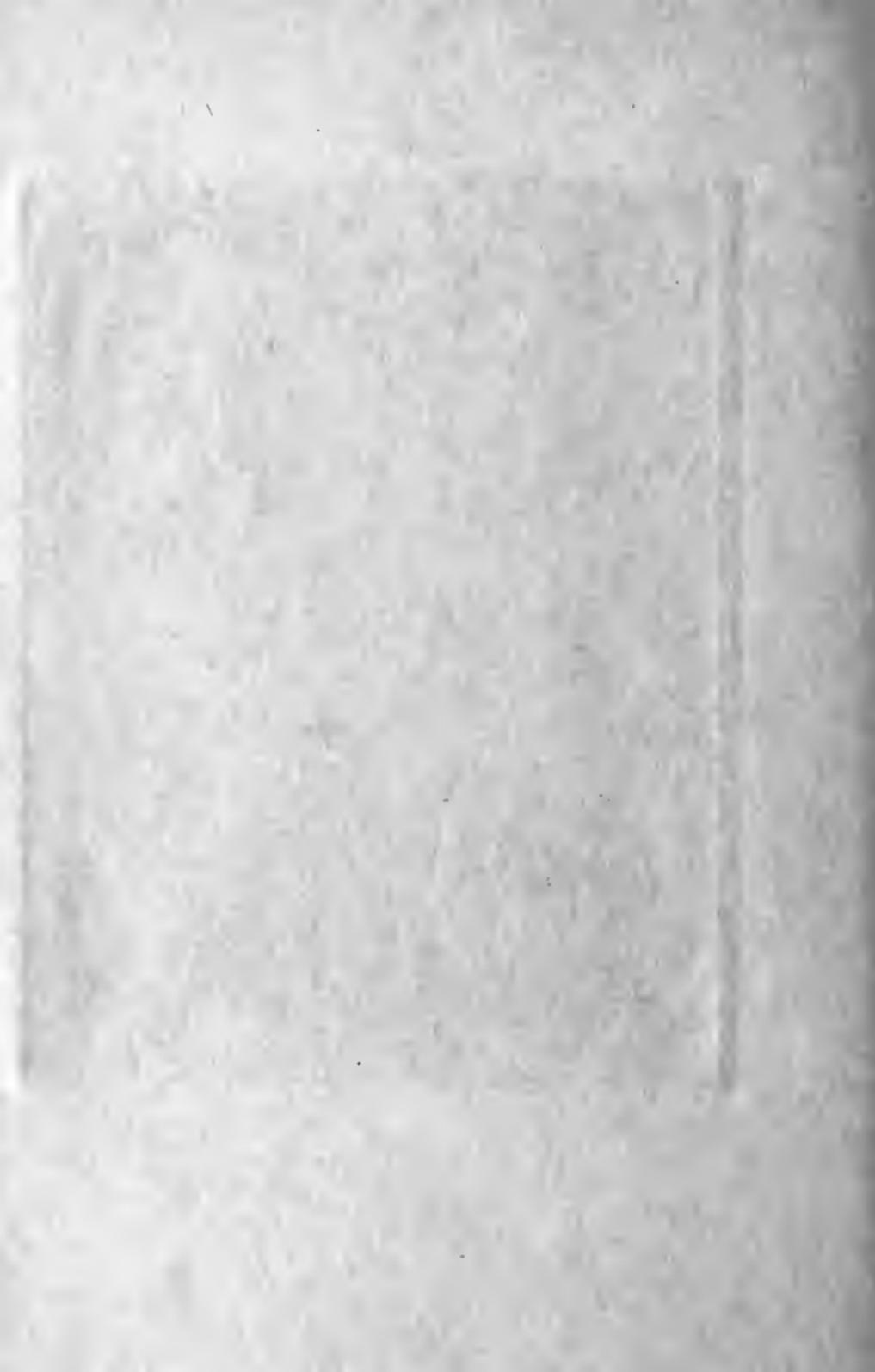
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New York.



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Springfield, April 16. 1859.

T. J. Pickett, Esq

My dear Sir.

Yours of the 13<sup>th</sup> just received. My engagements are such that I can not go to any very early day, until Rock-Island to deliver a lecture, or for any other object.

As to the other matter you kindly mention, I must, in candor say, I do not think myself fit for the Presidency. I certainly am flattered, over gratified, that some patriotic friends think of me in that connection; but I really think it best for our cause that no concerted effort, such as you suggest, should be made.

Let this be considered confidential.

Yours very truly  
A. Lincoln

Lincoln Letter, April 16, 1859.

Fac-simile of the Original Letter to T. J. Pickett, Dated Springfield, April 16, 1859.

This Letter was one of Three Selected by John G. Nicolay for the Republican Club Souvenir of 1894, as Representing Lincoln at his Best.



is now suspended, or disturbed; and that,  
for this object, the war, as it has been, will  
be, prosecuted. And, as a fit and necessary  
military measure for effecting this object,  
I, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and  
Navy of the United States, do order and de-  
clare that on the first day of January in the  
year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred  
and sixty five, all persons held as slaves within  
in any state or state, wherein the Constitution  
and authority of the United States, shall not  
then be practically recognized, submitted to,  
and maintained, shall then, thenceforward, and  
forever, be free.

Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863.

Facsimile of the Manuscript of the Third and Final Draught, January 1, 1863.



Emancipation Proclamation  
as first drafted in  
shown to the Cabinet on  
July 1862.

In pursuance of the sixth section of his act  
of congress entitled "An act to suppress insurrection  
and to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and  
confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes",  
approved July 17, 1862, now which act, and this  
Joint Resolution explanatory thereof, are hereto  
published, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of  
the United States, do hereby proclaim to, and  
warn all persons within the contemplation of  
said sixth section to cease participating in, aiding  
and abetting the existing rebellion,  
or any rebellion against the government  
of the United States, and to return to their per-  
sonal allegiances to the United States, or, if now of lots  
of forfeiture and seizure, as well as by said  
sixth section provided.

And I hereby make known that it is my  
purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again  
recommend the adoption of a practical measure  
for tendering pecuniary aid to the few states or  
rejection, of any and all states which may then  
be recognizing and practicing distinctions like and  
of the United States, and which may then be  
voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily  
adopt, gradual abolition of slavery within  
such state or states—that the object is to free  
billy negro, thenceforward to maintain, the con-  
stitutional relation between the general government  
and each, and all the states, wherein that relation  
is now suspended, or disturbed; and that  
for this object, the way, as it has been, will  
be, prosecute. And, as a fit and necessary  
military measure for effecting this object,  
I, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and  
Navy of the United States, do order and rec-  
ommend that on the first day of January in the  
year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred  
and sixty three, all persons held as slaves within  
any state or territory, wherein the Constitution  
or authority of the United States shall not  
then be practically recognized, submitted to,  
and maintained, shall then, thenceforward, be  
free.

Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863.

Facsimile of the Manuscript of the Third and Final Draft, January 1, 1863.



creased devotion to that cause for which  
they have, gave the last free meadow, of all  
notions - that we here highly resolve that  
now shall have been won in vain; that  
the nation, shall have a new birth of free-  
dom, and that government of the people by  
the people for the people, shall not per-  
ish from the earth.

The Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863.

Facsimile of the Original *First* Version of the Address made at the Dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg,  
November 19, 1863.



## Executive Mansion,

Washington, ..... 1865 :  
Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought  
forth, upon this continent, a new nation, conceived  
in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that  
"all men are created equal."

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing  
whether that nation, or any nation so conceived  
and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met  
on a great battle field of that war. We have  
come to dedicate a portion of it, as a final rest-  
ing place for those who shall have fallen in  
that fight. This we may, in all propriety do. But, in a  
larger sense, we can not dedicate - we can not  
consecrate - we can not hallow; this ground -  
the brave men, living and dead, who struggled  
here, have hallowed it, far above our poor power  
to add or subtract. The world will little note, how long  
remember what we say here; while it can never  
forget what they did here.

It is rather for us, the living, to consecrate,  
to the great task remaining before us -  
that, from these honored dead we take up  
increased devotion to that cause for which  
they here, gave the last full measure of our  
duty - that we here highly resolve these  
dead shall not have died in vain; that  
the nation, shall have a new birth of free-  
dom, and that government of the people by  
the people for the people, shall not per-  
ish from the earth.



to protection. Then let the  
hundreds thousands new troops  
militia, which act directly  
or indirectly, will have all  
that encouraging any other  
or hollow or well substanti-  
aw. I expect to maintain this  
or our conquerors, or my team  
or the country forsakes me; and  
 appeal to the country for this  
not that I fear a general  
war would follow so here  
they understood as it really  
new force should be all or  
the purpose known such can  
safely and quickly—

Yours very truly

A. Lincoln

6 In Letter, June 28, 1862.

William Henry Seward, Dated Executive Mansion, June 28, 1862.

John G. Nicolay for the Republican Club Souvenir of 1894, as Representing



Executive Mansion  
June 28. 1862.

Hon. W. H. Seward  
My dear Sir

My view of the present condition of the War is about as follows:

The evacuation of Corinth, and our delay by the flood in the Shenandoah, has enabled the enemy to concentrate too much force on Richmond, for McClellan to successfully attack - in fact there soon will be no substantial rebel force anywhere else - But if we had power all the force from here to

McClellan, the enemy will, before we can know of it, <sup>take</sup> a ~~send~~ from Richmond over to Washington - Or, if a large part of the Western Army be brought here to McClellan, they will let us have Richmond, and retake Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri &c. What should be done is to hold what we have in the West, open the Mississippi, and take Chattanooga & East Tennessee, without more - a reasonable force should, in every event, be kept about

Washington for its protection - Then let the country give us a hundred thousand men to go in the shortest possible time, which add to Mr. McClellan, directly or indirectly, will enable us to take Richmond, without endangering any other place where we now hold and will substantially end the war. I expect to maintain this <sup>unweariedly</sup> until I die, or am conqueror, or my term expires, or Congress or the country forgoes me; and I would publicly appeal to the country for the new force now at rest that I fear a general panic and stampede would follow so hard as it to have a thing understood as it really is - I think the new force should be all or nearly all infantry, principally because such can be raised most cheaply and quickly -

Yours very truly,  
Lincoln

Lincoln Letter, June 28, 1862.

Fac-simile of the Original Letter to William Henry Seward, Dated Executive Mansion, June 28, 1862.  
This Letter was one of Three Selected by John G. Nicolay for the Republican Club Souvenir of 1894, as Representing Lincoln at his Best.







Gentlemen.

In response to your address, allow me to attest the accuracy of its historical statements; indorse the sentiments it expresses; and thank you, in the nation's name, for the sure promise it gives.

Nobly sustained as the government has been by all the churches. I would utter nothing which might, in the least, appear inviolent against any. Yet, without this, it may fairly be said that the Methodist Episcopal Church, not less devoted than the best, is, by its greater numbers, the most important of all. It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayers to Heaven than any. God bless the Methodist Church—bless all the churches—and blessed be God, Who, in this our great trial, giveth us the churches.

A. Lincoln

May 18. 1864

Lincoln Letter, May 18, 1864.

Fac-simile of the Original Letter to a Delegation from the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Dated May 18, 1864. Now in the Possession of W. H. Harris, New York.







Executive Mansion  
Washington, Nov 21, 1864

To Mrs Bixby, Boston, Mass.

Dear Madam.

I have been shown in the files  
of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant  
General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of  
five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle.  
I feel how weak and fruitless must be any word of  
mine which should attempt to beguile you from the  
grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain  
from tendering you the consolation that may be found  
in the thanks of the republic they died to save. I  
pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish  
of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished  
memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride  
that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice  
upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully

A. Lincoln

The Celebrated "Bixby Letter."

Facsimile of the original Manuscript in Possession of G. H. Huber, of New York City.

A Letter of Condolence Written by Abraham Lincoln to Mrs. Bixby, of Boston, Mass., November 21, 1864.







Executive Mansion,

Washington, July 24, 1863.

Hon. Post Master General  
Sir:

Yesterday little endorsement  
of mine went to you in two cases of Post-Masterships  
sought for widows whose husbands have fallen in  
the battles of this war. These cases occurring on the  
same day brought to reflect more attentively than  
I have before done, as to what is fairly due from us  
here, in the dispensing of patronage, towards the  
men who, by fighting our battles, bear the chief bur-  
then of saving our country. My conclusion is that other  
claims and qualifications being equal, they have the  
better right; and this is especially applicable to the  
disabled soldiers, and the deceased soldiers' fam-  
ily.

Yours Ob: Servt  
A. Lincoln

Lincoln Letter, July 24, 1863.

Fac-simile of the original Letter to the Postmaster-General, Dated, Washington, July 24, 1863.

This Letter was one of Three Selected by John G. Nicolay for the Republican Club Souvenir of 1894, as Representing Lincoln at his Best.



# Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln

*Edited by*

**JOHN G. NICOLAY and JOHN HAY**

*New York*

FRANCIS D. TANDY COMPANY  
38 East Twenty-first Street

## A Word from President Roosevelt

“I FEEL that not merely all lovers of the Republican party but all believers in the country should do everything in their power to keep alive the memory of Abraham Lincoln. The problems we have to solve as a nation now are not the same as those he had to face; but they can be solved aright only if we bring to the solution exactly his principles and his methods, his iron resolution, his keen good sense, his broad kindness, his practical ability, and his lofty idealism.

“Faithfully yours,

“THEODORE ROOSEVELT.”

LETTER TO THE REPUBLICAN CLUB,  
NEW YORK, JANUARY 26, 1903.

# *The Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*

*Comprising his Speeches, Letters, State Papers  
and Miscellaneous Writings*

Edited by his Private Secretaries  
JOHN G. NICOLAY and JOHN HAY

With a General Introduction by  
RICHARD WATSON GILDER, and Numerous Special  
Introductions by OTHER EMINENT MEN

THE WHOLE FULLY ANNOTATED AND INDEXED  
AND CONTAINING A FULL BIBLIOGRAPHY

*New and Enlarged Edition*

*New York*  
FRANCIS D. TANDY COMPANY  
38 East 21st Street

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FRANCIS D. TANDY

# SUMMARY

## Literary Features

Lincoln's Autobiography.

Early Poems by Lincoln.

New Speeches Leading up to the Lincoln and Douglas Debates.

Full Text of the Lincoln and Douglas Debates.

Full Reports of Lincoln's Campaigns in New England.

All Lincoln's Personal Correspondence.

All Lincoln's Political Correspondence.

All Lincoln's Political Speeches.

All Lincoln's Letters and Instructions to his Generals.

All Lincoln's State Papers, etc.

Critical and Biographical Notes.

Special Introductions to Each Volume.

Complete Bibliography of Lincolniana.

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writing.

Photogravures, Wood-engravings by Timothy  
Cole and others, Copper-line Engrav-  
ings, Photo-engravings, etc., etc.

# The Work of Nicolay & Hay

THE edition of Abraham Lincoln's Works  
collected by Mr. John G. Nicolay and Col.

John Hay must ever be regarded by students as the only complete, the only authorized, and the only standard collection.

For nearly thirty years they labored on this monumental work, and their positions as his Private Secretaries during the whole period of Lincoln's official life, gave them opportunities which were beyond the reach of all others. One of them, and generally both, were on duty at Mr. Lincoln's side every day through the pregnant years from 1860 to 1865. During all this time they collected material from day to-day for this work, and the President himself encouraged and assisted them. **SOME OF HIS MOST PRECIOUS MANUSCRIPTS WERE GIVEN TO THEM BY HIS OWN HANDS.**

For twenty years after President Lincoln's death they gave most of their time to the collection and arrangement of the enormous amount of material at their disposal. The succeeding Secretaries of War gave them free and constant access to the official records, and Col. Robert T. Lincoln—the only surviving member of the President's family—turned

over to them all his father's papers. This added a vast amount of private material which had not come within the sphere of their official knowledge, and added the charming personal element to the works of the great statesman. When Colonel Lincoln requested them to compile his father's writings and freely transferred to them all his legal rights as his father's heir to protection by copyright, he at once made their collection the standard edition for all time, and rendered it impossible for any unauthorized publisher to successfully compete with them by issuing any edition which could have even the semblance of being complete.

## New Material

THE eleven years which have elapsed since the first edition of this work was issued have but served to augment the honor, esteem, and love in which the people of America have ever held the Great War President. Naturally this national attitude has resulted in bringing to light a large amount of manuscript material—much of great historical and biographical value—which inevitably escaped even such conscientious workers as Mr. Nicolay and Colonel Hay. It required the work of numerous collectors in widely scattered places and the inevitable winnowing of time to bring these

various items to light. Now, however, the field has been well worked. Few, if any, items of importance can be any longer hidden. This, therefore, seems to be the appropriate time to gather and add them to the work of the original editors, which is thus rounded out and made a complete and definitive collection. No attempt has been made to include every scrap of Lincoln's writings, such as mere memoranda of unimportant happenings, nor brief notes to unknown persons. The aim has been to include everything which could throw light upon the marvellously varied characteristics of the man, or tend to elucidate the terribly complex historical, political, and social conditions amid which he lived. As nearly twenty per cent. more of Lincoln's own writings, culled from numerous public and private collections, have been added to the first edition, it may safely be said that this result has been achieved.

## Arrangement

AFTER long consideration the editors decided upon a strictly chronological arrangement. In no other way could the many-sidedness of Lincoln be so clearly displayed, nor the relation of events be so vividly shown. The loveliness of Lincoln, the man, is apparent when, in the midst of the Lincoln and Douglas debates, he finds time to

write a note guaranteeing the credit of a poor friend for furniture, or when, amidst the stirring times of 1864 and the pressing cares State imposed upon him, his fine sympathy bursts eloquently forth in the celebrated letter to Mrs. Bixby. By such an arrangement of his writings, Lincoln is shown to the world as he was from day to day. Instead of being merely a valuable collection of raw material for the future historian, arranged by some hard and fast system, it becomes a true history of himself and his times as written, not alone in his own words, but by his own actions—a human document pulsating with the life and the love, the greatness and the generosity, the sympathy and the shrewdness of one of the most illustrious men who ever lived.

## Notes

**I**N ORDER that the work may be read intelligently, without unduly taxing the reader's memory or involving him in laborious research, notes have been added to the text where they were deemed necessary to remind the reader of the events which inspired the author's words, to explain obscure allusions, or to preserve the continuity of the narrative. The aim has been to make these notes as few and as brief as is compatible with a clear understanding of the subject.

## Special Articles

EARLY every eminent man has been inspired by Lincoln's marvelous personality to deliver some tribute to his genius. Some of these were published in pamphlets which have long been out of print, others are buried in forgotten newspapers, while others again are only found among the author's works in connection with unrelated essays, etc. In order to preserve the most important of these in permanent form, they have been printed as Special Introductions to the various volumes. They show the estimates of Lincoln's greatness by eminent men who were his contemporaries, but whose points of view were as varied as their own personalities, and, taken together, they form a many-sided, many-minded biography.

## Bibliography

THE SAME causes which have hitherto made it impossible to issue a complete edition of Lincoln's works have made it equally impossible to compile a complete bibliography. Many attempts to do this have been made, and each one has shown careful and diligent research and has prepared the way for others still more complete. The

bibliography which appears in the last volume of this set results from a careful comparison and consolidation of previous bibliographies, numerous large public library and trade catalogues, and is supplemented by all the latest accessions to the libraries of a number of famous private collectors. It is impossible to assure completeness in a matter of this kind, but at least this bibliography will mark one more step in that direction and contain all the information upon the subject which is at present available.

## Index

**T**HE WHOLE work, including the special articles, will be fully indexed. In short, no expense will be spared, no effort will be saved which could help to make this the most valuable contribution to the Literature of Lincoln.

## Mechanical Construction

**H**ARMONY is the great essential of art. As discords offend the ear or incongruous colors hurt the eye, so a book, which is dressed in a mechanical garb unsuited to its subject matter, insults the tastes of the true book-lover. The mechanical features of this work have been

designed to reflect something of the characteristics of the illustrious author. The rugged grandeur, the simple forcefulness, the lovable character, and the old time honesty of Lincoln find their prototypes in the quiet dignity, the severe simplicity, the old time beauty, and the honest execution of the mechanical details. No fanciful ornamentation, no smug conventionality have been attempted. Just the most readable type, the most perfect workmanship, the very best materials, the most simple designs, executed after the plans of the old masters of printing and binding, have been combined to make a truly harmonious, and hence beautiful, result.

## Paper

THE life of a book is in the paper upon which it is printed, and the life of the paper depends principally upon the amount of rag stock used in its composition. In its report upon paper, The Royal Society of Arts says:

“ The practical evidence as to permanence fully confirms this classification . . . and that the paper-making fibres may be ranged in four classes.

- “ A. Cotton, flax, and hemp.
- “ B. Wood cellulose.
- “ C. Esparto and straw cellulose.
- “ D. Mechanical wood pulp.

“In regard, therefore, to papers for books and documents of permanent value, the selection must be taken in this order.”

The paper upon which this edition is printed is made entirely of rag stock. It is manufactured especially for this work by The Riverside Paper Mills, one of the oldest and most reliable mills in America, having been in business for over a hundred years. This paper is the culminating masterpiece of their vast experience. As such, it has been called Riverside, after their mills. Every sheet made for this edition is water-marked with a fac-simile of President Lincoln’s autograph. It is a pure white, deckle-edge, antique, wove paper of beautiful texture, weight and finish. It is especially manufactured with the idea of developing to the utmost all the beauties of the type, and of supplying to the binder the best possible foundation for his art. Its durability, firmness and flexibility, added to its other qualifications, make it the book paper *par excellence*.

## Type

THE celebrated Pica Caslon type has been selected on account of its great legibility, the chaste beauty of its letters, and the peculiarly harmonious relation it bears to the antique paper used. This type was cut by William Caslon

in London early in the eighteenth century. It has ever since been regarded by connoisseurs as one of the most beautiful and readable designs ever cut. Other type founders strove to rival, and some to imitate, its beauties with varying degrees of success, until a few years ago not only the original matrices, but even the original steel type from which the matrices were made, cut by the hand of William Caslon himself, were discovered in his old printing-shop. To secure a perfect impression from the type a special grade of ink has been used and every precaution taken to insure an even distribution and a perfect register.

## Illustrations

THE illustrations found in this edition, of which there are approximately one hundred in all, would by themselves make it a valuable addition to any collection of Lincolniana. All the famous portraits of Lincoln are reproduced, together with many that are very rare—some of them being known to but few collectors. Portraits of the leading generals of the Civil War, members of Lincoln's Cabinet, etc., add completeness and variety to the collection. Such illustrations taken from authentic sources really illuminate the text, as well as add to the artistic beauty of the book. Each illustration is reproduced by the process best suited to bring out its

full value, whether in photogravure, wood cut, copper line engraving, or photographic processes. Important letters and documents are given in fac-simile from almost priceless originals in Lincoln's own handwriting.

## Binding

THE bindings of the volumes are in keeping with the excellence of the other mechanical features. Especial pains have been taken with the sewing and forwarding to make the book flexible and durable. The designs of the tooling are chaste and dignified, but the care with which they have been executed and the high quality of the materials used, combine to make the result as rich and beautiful as it is simple and unobtrusive.

## Authority for Publication

“MAY 30, 1893.

*“My Dear Nicolay:* As you and Colonel Hay have now brought your great work to a most successful conclusion by the publication of your life of my father, I hope and request that you and he will supplement it by collecting, editing, and publishing the speeches, letters, state papers, and miscellaneous writings of my father. You and Colonel Hay have my consent and authority to obtain for yourselves such protection by copyright, or otherwise, in respect to the whole or any part of such a collection, as I might for any reason be entitled to have.

“Believe me very sincerely yours,

“ROBERT T. LINCOLN.”

“JOHN G. NICOLAY.”

Both in fulfilment of the request contained in the foregoing letter, and in execution of a long-cherished design, we present to the public this edition of the “Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln,” hoping and trusting that it will be received as a welcome addition to American historical literature.

JOHN G. NICOLAY.

JOHN HAY,

## Introductions

Richard Watson Gilder: "Lincoln as a Writer."

Horace Greeley: "An Estimate of the Career of Abraham Lincoln."

Charles Sumner: "Abraham Lincoln and the Promises of the Declaration of Independence."

Phillips Brooks: "The Life and Influence of Abraham Lincoln."

Robert Ingersoll: "The Influence of Abraham Lincoln."

George Bancroft: "The Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln."

William McKinley: "Abraham Lincoln, the Great Republican."

James Abram Garfield: "Lincoln and Emancipation."

Henry Ward Beecher: "The Loss of Lincoln."

Frank S. Black: "The Greatness of Lincoln."

Henry Watterson: "Lincoln as a Man Inspired by God."

Theodore Roosevelt: "Lincoln and the Race Problem."

## Some of the Important Additions to the First Edition

The Rebecca Letters Leading up to the Duel with Shields.

Some of Lincoln's Early Poems.

Report of Lincoln's Campaign in Massachusetts.

Two Speeches of Douglas preliminary to the Debates proper.

A large number of Important Letters to Statesmen and Generals, and other material.

Hundreds of personal letters heretofore unpublished in any edition of Lincoln's writings.

Official letters to Seward and fellow members of the Cabinet.

Notable letter to Major-General Hunter.

A great number of telegrams during the Civil War period that prove "Lincoln was his best General."

Early law arguments.

Important speech before the Illinois Legislature in 1837.

Legal opinions.

Speech to the 12th Indiana Regiment.

New letters to Generals Halleck, McClellan, and Meade.

## Illustrations

AMONG THE ILLUSTRATIONS ARE REPRODUCTIONS OF THE FOLLOWING:

The Carpenter Portrait.  
Several of the Thomas Johnson Engravings.  
Several Photographs by Brady.  
Several Engravings by Sartain.  
Lincoln's Last Photograph.  
Group Picture of Lincoln, Nicolay, and Hay,  
with a letter from the latter explaining it.  
Log Cabin built by Lincoln.  
Lincoln Statue in Florence, Italy.  
The Saint-Gauden Monument.  
Portraits of Members of Lincoln's Cabinet.  
Portraits of the Generals of the Civil War.  
A Number of Rare Portraits never before published in any book.

### FACSIMILES OF

Gettysburg Address—the First Draft and the Final Revision.  
The Famous Letter to Mrs. Bixby.  
Letter to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.  
The Emancipation Proclamation.  
And many other important documents.

## Estimates of Lincoln's Literary Ability

"He would doubtless have been very much surprised if any one had told him that he had a 'style' at all, and yet, because he was determined to be understood, . . . he achieved a singularly clear and forcible style, which took color from his own noble character, and became a thing individual and distinguished."—Richard Watson Gilder.

"His rejection of what is called fine writing was as deliberate as St. Paul's, and for the same reason—because he felt that he was speaking on a subject which must be made clear to the lowest intellect, though it should fail to captivate the highest. But we say of Lincoln's writings . . . They are brief, condensed, intense, and with a power of insight and expression which makes them worthy to be inscribed in letters of gold."—Harriet Beecher Stowe.

"Probably there are few finer passages in literature than the close of Lincoln's inaugural address."—Robert G. Ingersoll.

“ His style was his own, formed on no model, and springing directly from himself. . . . There are passages which will live always. It is no exaggeration to say that, in weight and pith, suffused in a certain practical color, they call to mind Bacon’s essays. Such passages make an epoch in State papers.”—Charles Sumner.

“ This (second inaugural) was like a sacred poem. No American President has ever spoken words like these to the American people. America never had a President who found such words in the depth of his heart.”—Carl Schurz.

“ The weight and penetration of many passages in his letters, messages, and speeches . . . what pregnant definitions; what unerring common sense; what foresight; and, on great occasions, what lofty, and more than national, what humane tone! His brief speech at Gettysburg will not easily be surpassed by words on any recorded occasion.”—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

“ Lincoln had a style—a distinctive, individual, characteristic form of expression. In his own way he gained an insight into the structure of English, and a freedom and skill in the selection of and combination of words, which not only made him the most convincing speaker

of his time, but which have secured for his speeches a permanent place in literature."—Hamilton Wright Mabie.

"Each of Lincoln's paragraphs is an organism. Each is knit together by perfect logical sequence, perfect unity. . . . The letter is a challenge. Each sentence is meant to go home like a shot."—Edwin Herbert Lewis.

"Perhaps no point in the career of Abraham Lincoln has excited more surprise or comment than his remarkable power of literary expression. It is a constant puzzle to many men of letters how a person growing up without advantages of schools and books could have acquired the art which enabled him to write the Gettysburg Address and the Second Inaugural."—John G. Nicolay.

"The second of the American statesmen holding high rank as a man of letters was Abraham Lincoln, whose later State Papers are models not only in insight and in tact, but in expression also."—Brander Matthews.

"It is just appreciation, not extravagance, to say that the . . . volume containing the Lincoln and Douglas debates holds some of the masterpieces of oratory of all ages and nations."—John T. Morse, Jr.

## Opinions of the First Edition

THE editors of these works have shown great diligence in collecting material from the date of the first document, March 9, 1832, down to the end. The order of arrangement is chronological. . . . The "works" are indispensable to all students of our later political history.—*Literature of American History*. Issued by authority of The American Library Association.

The editors of "Abraham Lincoln's Complete Works" have prepared them on the same grand scale as their "Life of Lincoln." . . . These works will be sure to find their way into all libraries, public and private, the owners or managers of which make any pretension to keeping abreast of the political history of the country.—Professor B. A. Hinsdale, of Ann Arbor University, *The Dial*, July 16, 1894.

The materials are arranged in chronological order, and as they include an autobiography composed by Lincoln himself in 1860, after his nomination for the presidency, it is possible for the careful reader of these volumes to obtain a

correct general idea of Lincoln's principles and achievements without recourse to any other work.—*New York Sun*, May 20, 1894.

As a work of reference in relation to the political and military history of the Civil War this collection of Lincoln's writings at once takes its place in every American library of any pretensions, and it will never be supplanted. To read these pages is not only to revive memories of the heroic period of arms, but also to gain an appreciative idea of the inexhaustible resources of patience, sagacity, industry, and courage displayed by the martyr leader of the nation.—*New York Tribune*, June 24, 1894.

## A Letter from a Celebrated American Historian

*(From The Century Magazine)*

DURING the academic year 1894-95, at the University of Pennsylvania, perhaps for the first time in this country, the "Speeches, State Papers, and Miscellaneous Writings" of Abraham Lincoln were made the basis of a special course for graduate students in the constitutional history of this country, from the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1850 to the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1870. Of the course of American government, commonwealth and national, during this period, relatively far less is known than of its course during the entire preceding period of our history. Nor is this strange. The political ideas of our earlier statesmen, Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, Marshall, and of their immediate successors, Webster, Calhoun, Clay, Benton, have been accessible in their published works. But of the ideas of the succeeding generation of our public men but little is now known. After 1850 the histories of the United States become

military records: the evolution of American government is imperfectly traced in the best of them. Military history has little place in a course of study outside of a military school. There is not at present a constitutional history of the United States during the most critical period of our history—from 1850 to the close of the era of reconstruction. There is, however, a vast mass of material comprising the documentary record of American government, commonwealth and national, during this period in the various departments—legislative, judicial, executive, and administrative.

This material, comprising about thirty thousand volumes, has never been collected in one library, and it is impossible for any other than the wealthiest universities to possess even a portion of it. Most American schools, in the courses in American history and government which they offer, must be satisfied to use the works of American statesmen and the treatises prepared by specialists.

During this critical period of our nineteenth-century history, Abraham Lincoln bears a part and serves a function comparable only to Washington's in the eighteenth century.

The publication of the "Complete Works of Lincoln" by The Century Company in 1894 is the most important contribution of our times to

a just conception of the evolution of American democracy during this period. In the debates with Senator Douglas, Lincoln is the voice of American democracy. He is not then the Lincoln whom we now know; he is the Lincoln of political debate, not the Lincoln of national administration. He grew in thought as the people grew. In his state papers this growth is recorded; and it is undoubtedly true that in no other records of the time is the course of public opinion in America so accurately traced as in the speeches, in the state papers, and in the miscellaneous writings of this man.

His political ideas are, in our day at least, authoritative and classic, and the exhaustive study of them is the natural course for any person who expects to understand the political evolution since his death.

Aside from the fascinating character of the man himself, the study of his notions of representative government, in correlation with the course of events in which his was individually the leading mind, is an equipment for American citizenship; and such equipment was never more needed than at the present time.

FRANCIS N. THORPE.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

## A Few of Lincoln's Epigrams

“LET us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it.”

“In law it is good policy never to plead what you need not, lest you oblige yourself to prove what you cannot.”

“By a course of reasoning, Euclid proves that all the angles in a triangle are equal to two right angles. Now, if you undertake to disprove that proposition, would you prove it false by calling Euclid a liar?”

“Human action can be modified to some extent, but human nature cannot be changed.”

“We shall sooner have a fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it.”

“There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law.”

“No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent.”

“War does not admit of holidays.”

# Some Topics of Present Vital Interest of Which Lincoln Wrote

ACQUISITION of Territory—Acts of Incorporation—Admission of States into Union—Agriculture—Aliens—American Industries—Amnesty—Anarchy—Appropriations—Arbitration—Army and Army Organization—Articles of Confederation—Asiatic Trade—Assassination—Atlantic Cable.

BALLOT, Power of—Bank Charters and Circulation—Bankrupt Law—Behring Straits—Bible Texts—Borrowed Money—British North America Boundary.

CANADIAN Commerce—Canals—Capital and Labor—Capital Punishment—Cavalry—Census—Children and Laws—China—Citizenship—Civil and Religious Liberty—Coast Guard—Colonization of Negroes—Commerce (Domestic and Foreign)—Constitution (U. S.)—Consular System—Contraband of War—Contracts—Cotton Culture and Manufacture—Cuban Annexation—Currency.

DEBT—Declaration of Independence—Democratic Party—Dictatorship—Diplomatic Corps—Disunion—Domestic Policy—Draft Law—Drama—Dred Scott Decision.

ECONOMY—Education—Election Laws—Electoral College—Emancipation—Employment—Enlistment—Equality—European Policy—Evasion of Laws—Executions.

FARMERS—Federal Government—Finance—Fisheries—Foreign Intervention—Foreign Arbitration—Foreign Policy—Forfeitures—Fortification (coast)—Fractional Currency—Fraternities—Free Democracy—Freedom of the Press—Free Institutions—Free Labor Systems—Free Trade—Fusion Views.

GENERAL Government (principles)—General Land Office—Gold Mines—Government Lands—Great Lakes—Guerilla Warfare—Gulf Ports—Gunboats and Guns.

HABEAS Corpus—Hanseatic Republics—Harbors—Harvesting Methods—Hayti, Relations with—Highway Improvement—Homestead Law—Hotchkiss Projectiles—Human Nature.

ILICIT Trade—Immigration—Imports—Indemnity—Indian Affairs—Industrial Classes—Infantry—Insurrection—Intemperance—Internal Improvements—Internal Revenue Act—Ironclads.

JAPAN (trade)—Jews—Judicial System—Juries—Jurisdiction.

LABOR—Land Appropriation—Law Study—Law of Nations—Legal Tender—Legislation—Letters of Marque—Liberty—Liquor Traffic—Loans (Government)—Luxuries (taxation of)—Lynch Law.

MANUFACTURES—Maritime Nations—Martial Law—Matrimony—Mechanics—Militia and Military affairs—Mineral Resources—Mining—Mints—Miscegenation—Mob Law—Monarchy—Money—Monroe Doctrine—Moral Reforms.

NATIONAL Banks—National Debt—National Loans—Naturalization Laws—Navy and Naval Affairs—Negroes—Neutral Rights—Newspapers—Nicaragua—Nullification.

OATHS—Office-seeking—Oligarchy—Ordinances—Ordnance.

PARDONS—Party Platforms—Patents—Patriotism—Patronage—Pay-system—Pensions—Phonetics—Planta-

tion Cultivation—Platforms, National — Poetry — Police Regulation—Polygamy Question—Popular Sovereignty—Postal Affairs—Precedents—Presidency—Printing—Prisons —Protection—Public Debt—Public Improvements—Public Lands—Public Schools—Punishment and Crime.

RACE Prejudice — Railroad Corporations — Railroad Systems—Reciprocity—Reconstruction—Religion — Representative Government—Republicanism—Revenue—Rights of the People—River and Harbor Improvements—Roads, Construction—Russian Relations.

SANITARY Commissions—Science—Seacoast Fortification—Secret Societies—Sectionalism—Sedition Law—Self-government — Shipyards — Slavery — Specie — Squatter Sovereignty—Standing Army—State Banks—State Rights—Suffrage.

TARIFF — Taxation — Telegraphs — Temperance — Territories—Title to Soil—Treason—Treaties—Trial by Jury.

UNION (State)—U. S. Army—U. S. Bank—U. S. Constitution—U. S. Government—U. S. Mail—U. S. Navy—Usury.

VETO Power—Volunteers.

WARS—Woman Suffrage—Workingmen.

# Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln

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ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF SANGAMON COUNTY,<sup>1</sup>  
March 9, 1832.

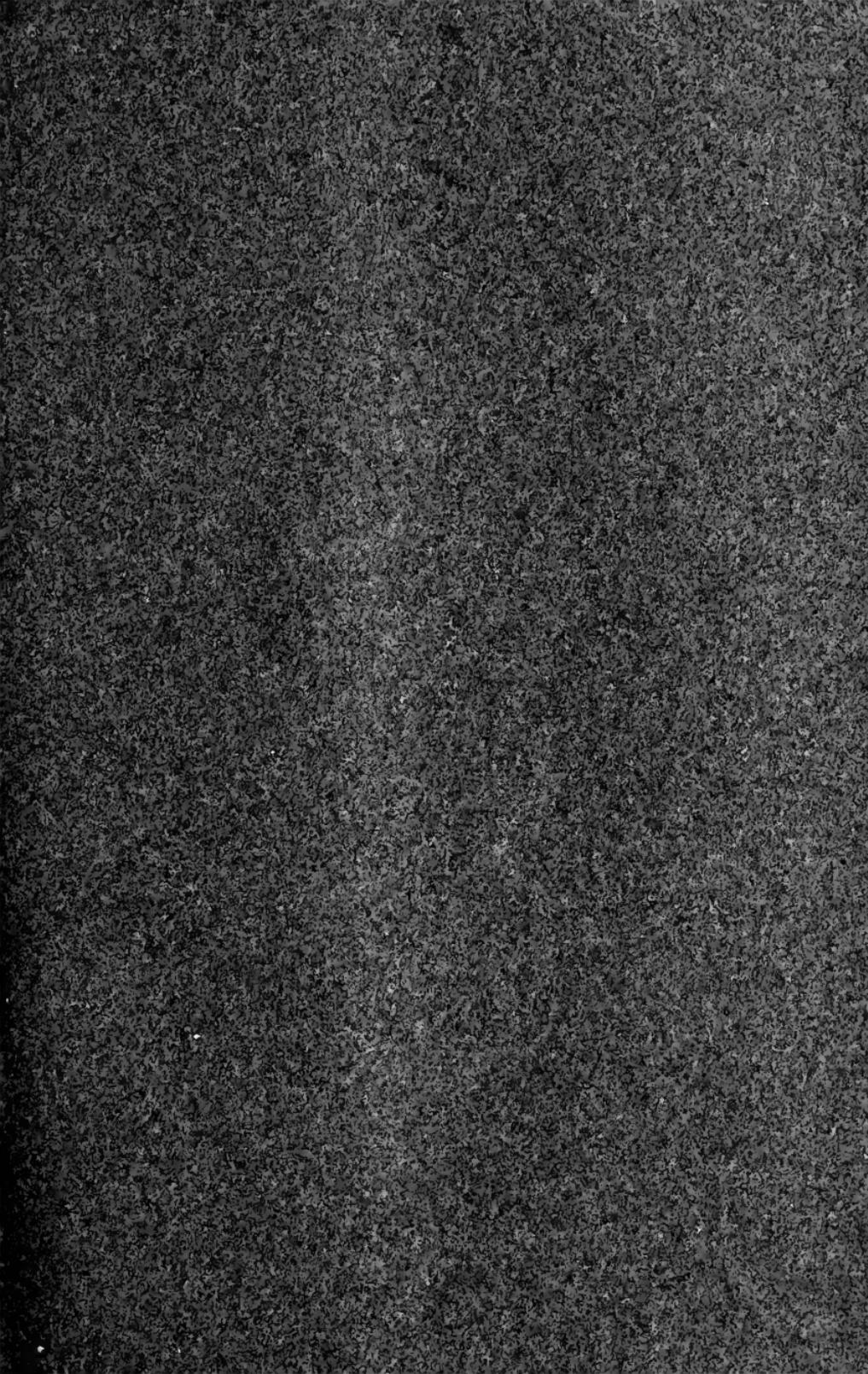
**F**ELLOW-CITIZENS: Having become a candidate for the honorable office of one of your Representatives in the next General Assembly of this State, in accordance with an established custom and the principles of true Republicanism, it becomes my duty to make known to you, the people whom I propose to represent, my sentiments with regard to local affairs.

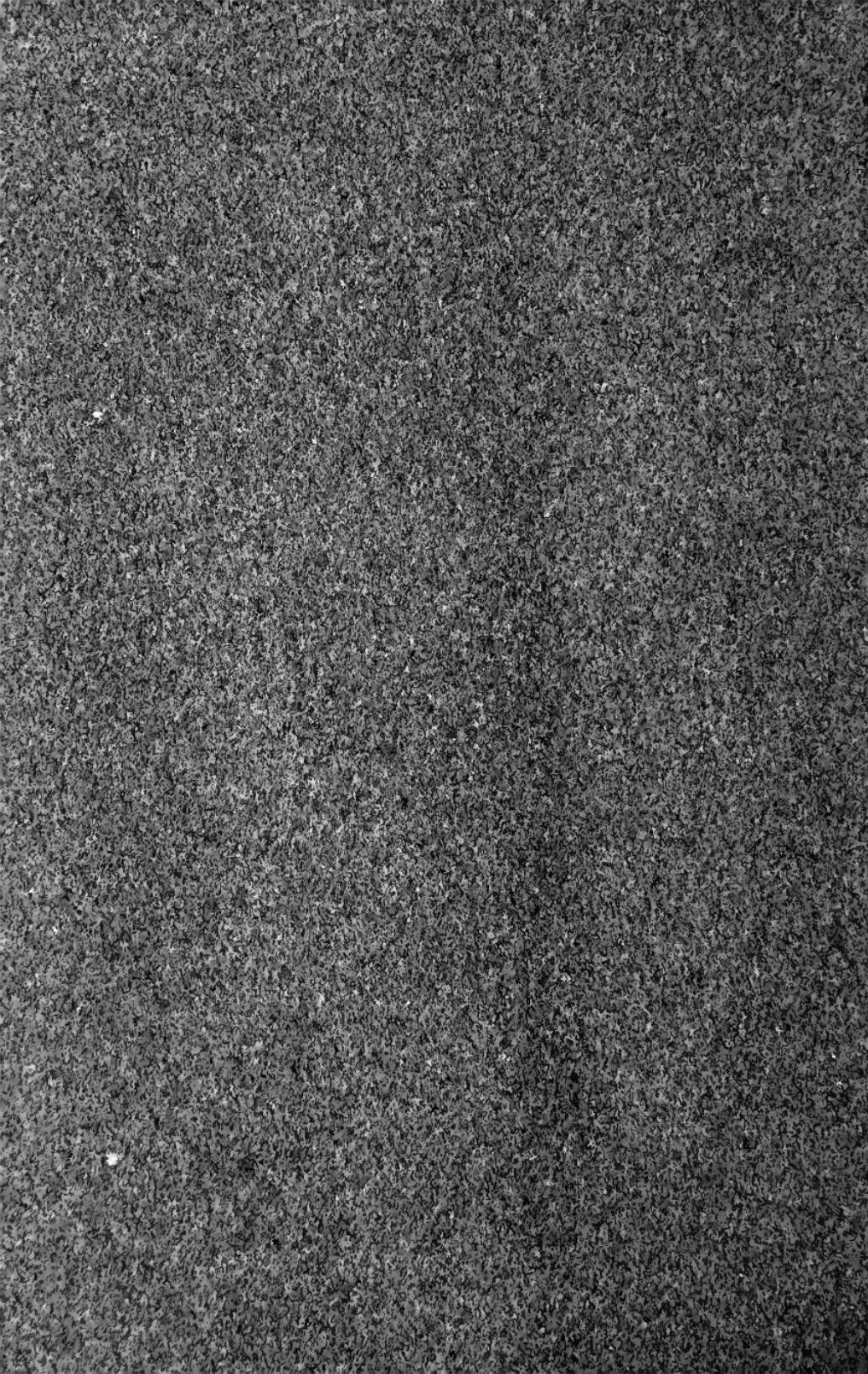
Time and experience have verified to a demonstration the public utility of internal im-

<sup>1</sup> Lincoln was just past his twenty-second year when he indited this address to the people of Sangamon County. Though defeated in the effort to become a member of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, his address, distributed in the form of a handbill, aroused great interest and enthusiasm among his fellow-citizens. It became one of the prime factors in promoting navigation of the Sangamon River. It is worth passing mention to note that this defeat as a candidate for the Illinois legislature was the only one Lincoln ever suffered by direct vote of the people.

provements. That the poorest and most thinly populated countries would be greatly benefited by the opening of good roads, and in the clearing of navigable streams within their limits, is what no person will deny. Yet it is folly to undertake works of this or any other kind without first knowing that we are able to finish them —as half-finished work generally proves to be labor lost. There cannot justly be any objection to having railroads and canals, any more than to other good things, provided they cost nothing. The only objection is to paying for them; and the objection arises from the want of ability to pay.

With respect to the County of Sangamon, some more easy means of communication than it now possesses, for the purpose of facilitating the task of exporting the surplus products of its fertile soil, and importing necessary articles from abroad, are indispensably necessary. A meeting has been held of the citizens of Jacksonville and the adjacent country, for the purpose of deliberating and inquiring into the expediency of constructing a railroad from some eligible point on the Illinois River, through the town of Jacksonville, in Morgan County, to the town of Springfield, in Sangamon County. This is, indeed, a very desirable object. No other improvement that reason will justify us





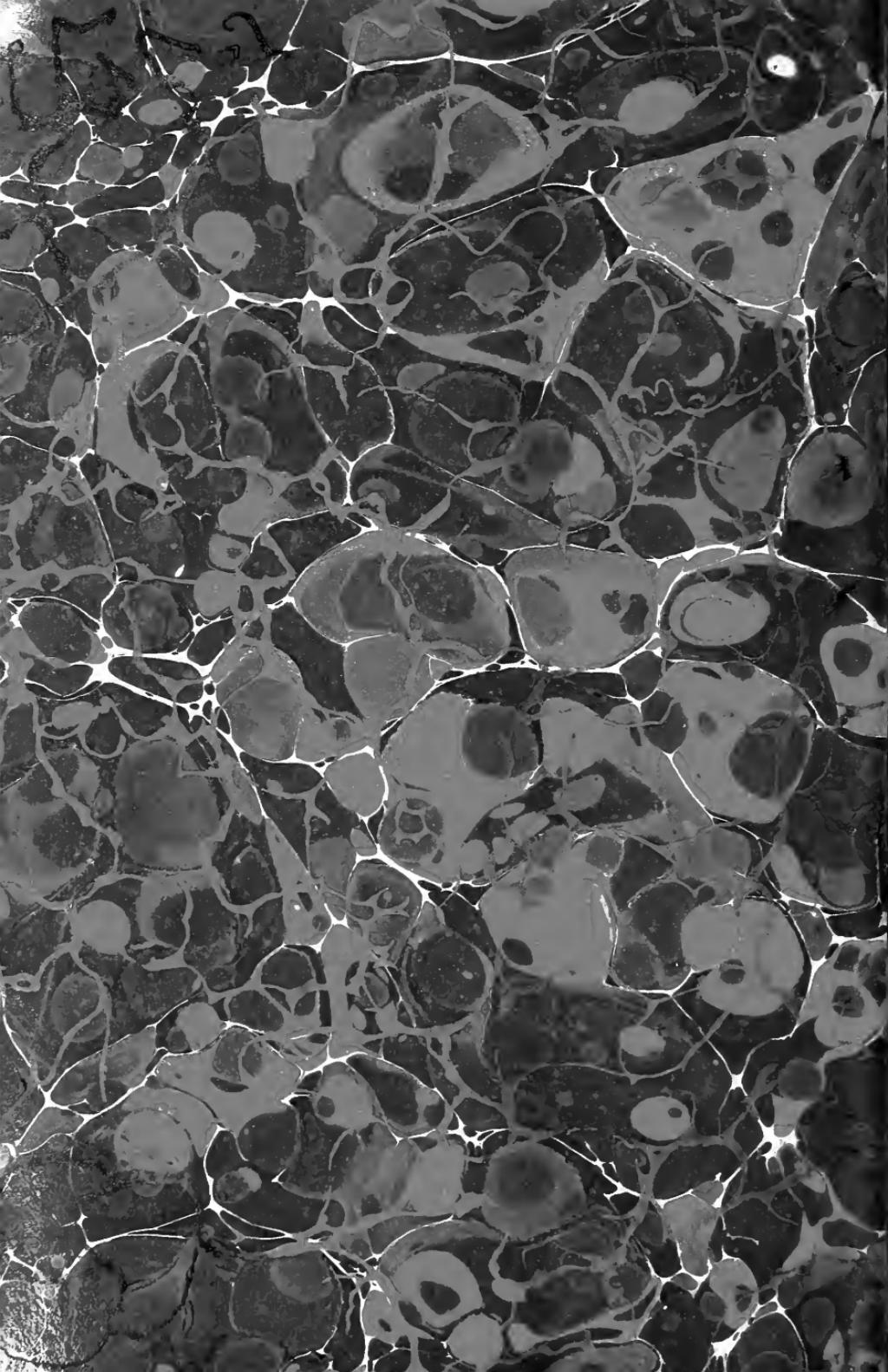


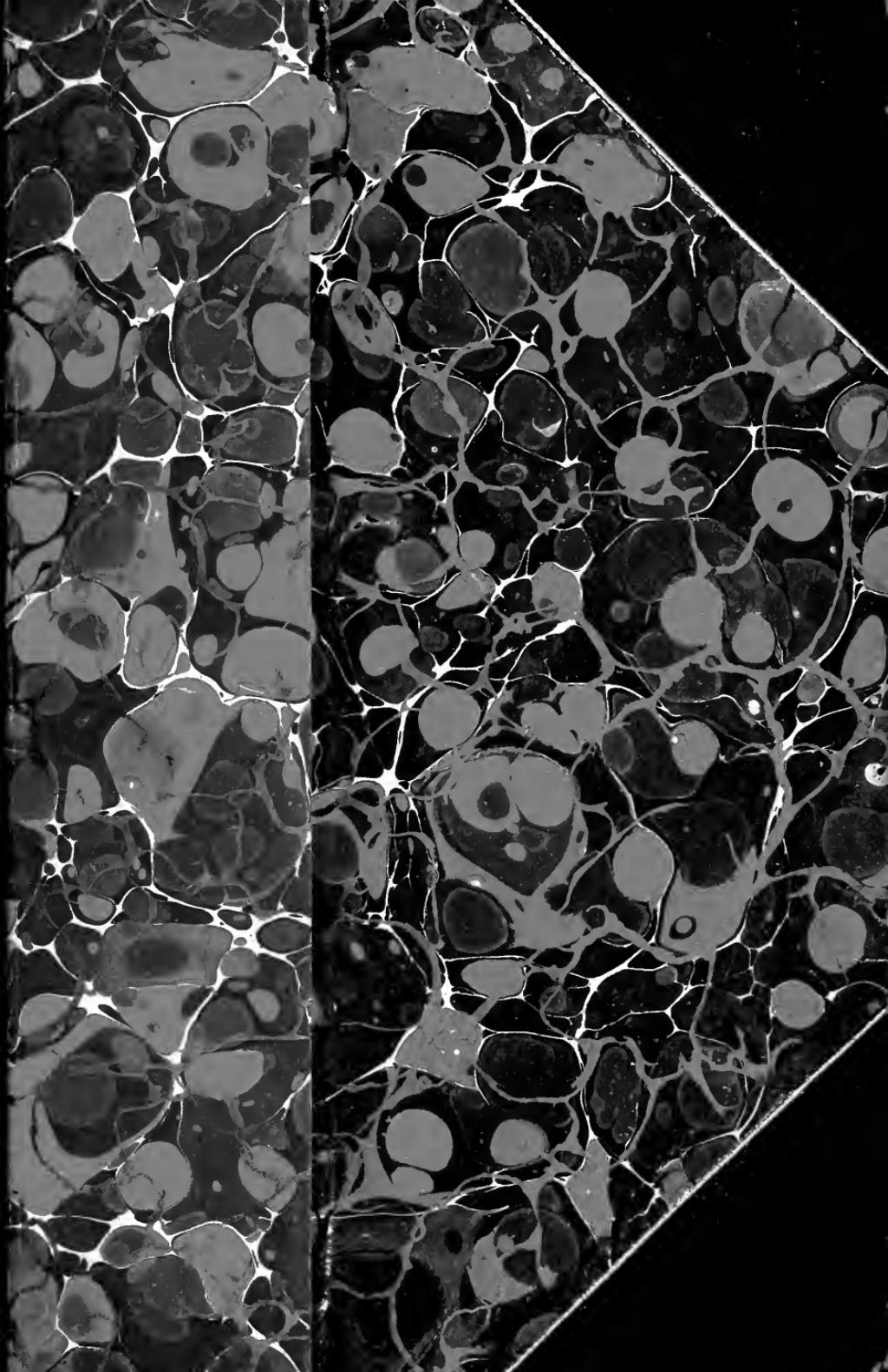


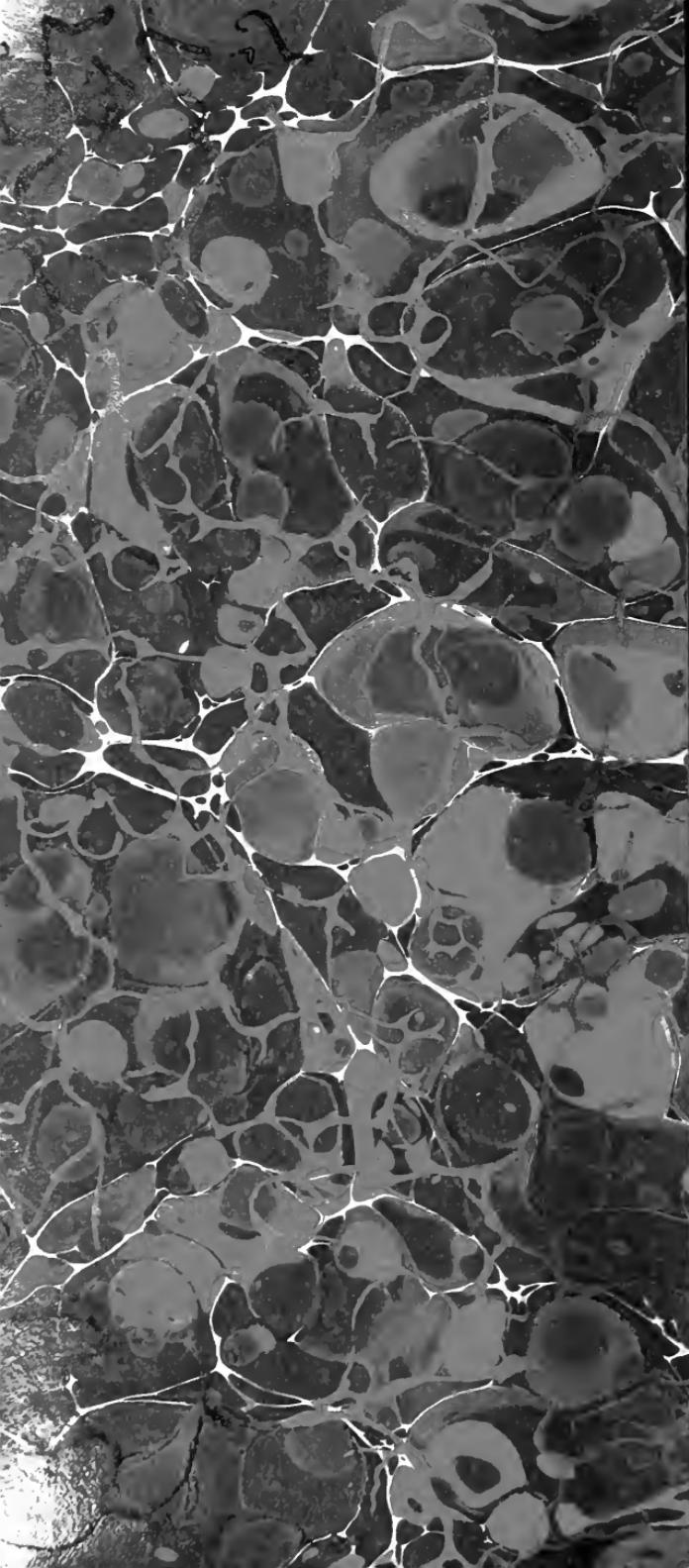




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The left side of the image shows a marbled book cover with a dark, irregular pattern of light-colored, organic shapes resembling veins or cells.

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